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Assessing Effectiveness of Multicultural Readings in Increasing Ethnocultural Empathy for Undergraduate Students

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To the Graduate Council:

I am submitting herewith a dissertation written by Tripti Bhaskar entitled "Assessing Effectiveness of Multicultural Readings in Increasing Ethnocultural Empathy for Undergraduate Students." I have examined the final electronic copy of this dissertation for form and content and recommend that it be accepted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, with a major in Psychology.

Brent S. Mallinckrodt, Major Professor

We have read this dissertation and recommend its acceptance:

Greer Litton Fox, Gina Owens, Dawn Szymanski, Richard Saudargas

Accepted for the Council:

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Vice Provost and Dean of the Graduate School

(Original signatures are on file with official student records.)

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Carolyn R. Hodges

Vice Provost and Dean of the Graduate School

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Assessing Effectiveness of Multicultural Readings in Increasing Ethnocultural Empathy for Undergraduate Students

**A Dissertation Presented for the
Doctor of Philosophy
Degree
The University of Tennessee, Knoxville**

**Tripti Bhaskar
August 2011**

DEDICATION

This dissertation is dedicated to all the social justice advocates.

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ABSTRACT

This study examined how multicultural readings included in the introduction to psychology curriculum were linked to an increase in students' multicultural interest and sensitivity. Specifically, this study investigated the impact of reading and discussing multicultural articles on students' ethnocultural empathy, universality-diverse orientation, and openness to diversity. Second purpose of the study was to examine possible individual differences associated with response to the intervention. Participants in the current study were undergraduate students enrolled in five sections of the introduction to psychology class, which were randomly assigned as control and experimental groups. The multicultural readings are four original research articles that examine topics in psychology from a cross-cultural and multicultural perspective. Measures of dependent variables used in the study were: Scale of Ethnocultural Empathy (Wang et al., 2003), Personality Style Inventory for Adolescents (Lounsbury et al., 2003), Experiences in Close Relationships Short Form (Wei, Russell, Mallinckrodt, & Vogel, 2007), Miville–Guzman Universality– Diversity Scale-Short form (Fuertes, Miville, Mohr, Sedlacek, & Gretchen, 2000), Openness to Diversity Scale (Pascarella, Edison, Nora, Hagedon, & Terenzini, 1996), and Balanced Inventory of Desired Responding (Paulhus, 1984). A one-way Multivariate analysis of variance (MANOVA) was used to test the hypothesis that the experimental group, after being exposed to the multicultural readings would show a greater increase in multicultural variables. The study's main hypothesis was not supported, because the group X time treatment interaction was not significant. Exploratory analyses of personality traits as covariates suggested that only one variable, Attachment

Avoidance, was associated with one multicultural outcome, namely, extent of change in SEE-Acceptance of Cultural Differences.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Chapter	Page
CHAPTER I: INTRODUCTION.....	1
Overview of Research on Multicultural Courses.....	3
Empathy and ethnocultural empathy.....	3
Empathy- personality trait or learned skill.....	7
Adult Attachment and Empathy.....	8
Present Study.....	9
CHAPTER II: METHOD.....	11
Participants.....	11
Measures	12
Procedure.....	18
CHAPTER III: RESULTS.....	25
Preliminary Analyses.....	25
Tests of Hypotheses.....	26
CHAPTER IV: DISCUSSION.....	29
Multicultural Course Interventions.....	30
Summary.....	33
Limitations.....	34
Implications for Future Research.....	35
Conclusion.....	37
REFERENCES.....	39
APPENDIX.....	53
VITA.....	66

List of Tables

Table	Page
1. Means, Standard Deviation, and Correlations for Primary Variables at Time 1.....	54
2. Means, Standard Deviation, and Correlations for Primary Variables at Time 2.....	56
3. Comparison of Multicultural Variables at Time 1.....	57
4. Comparison of Multicultural Variables at Time 2.....	58
5. Repeated Measures MANCOVA Comparing Experimental and Control Group.....	60

List of Figures

Figure	Page
1. SEE Estimated Marginal Means.....	61
2. MGUDS-S Estimated Marginal Means.....	62
3. ODS Estimated Marginal Means.....	63
4. SEE- Acceptance of Cultural Differences Estimated Marginal Means with Attachment Avoidance Scores.....	64

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

The latest estimates from the U.S. census project that by 2042, non-Hispanic Whites will be outnumbered by Americans who identify themselves as Hispanic, Black, Asian, American Indian, Native Hawaiian, and Pacific Islander. Census demographers predict that children from various immigrant groups will constitute a majority of the nation's children under 18 by 2023, and a majority of working age Americans by 2039. The demographic shifts in population of United States are also reflected in higher education where comparatively more ethnic, racial, and multiracial students now attend college (AACU, 2006). Due the increasing size, diversity and concentration of the foreign-born population and the increasing globalized economic conditions, it is important for college students to gain the multicultural knowledge to succeed in the modern world. Lack of inter-cultural exposure and America's individualistic cultural orientation make the recognition of diverse intercultural perspectives a complex task for various youngsters (Harms, 2007). The lack of cross-cultural awareness in modern civilized society frequently facilitates different covert forms of discrimination like institutional racism and cultural racism on all levels, including college campuses (Jones, 1998).

The deeply individualized societal and personal beliefs held by the students at predominantly White American universities makes it hard for these students to acknowledge the existence of inequalities and how those inequalities benefit or harm them (Kivel, 2002). Various scholars (Goodman, 2001; Kivel, 2002; Spanierman & Heppner, 2004; Spanierman et al., 2006, Spanierman et al., 2009) have elaborated on the negative psychosocial consequences that Whites experience as a byproduct of racism. Spanierman and Heppner (2004) categorized the costs of racism according to affective, cognitive and behavioral dimensions. A large majority of Whites

do not have any significant knowledge about their inherited cultures, languages, food etc. (Kivel, 2002). Both the oppressor and the oppressed suffer due to these categorical inequalities and stratification which intensifies prejudice, and discriminatory attitudes towards outgroup members. Additionally, such discriminatory practices create an imbalance in our society, and lead to formation of dominant groups and marginalized groups, which further perpetuates racism. One of the most serious challenges facing America today is to cope with these insidious forms of oppressions, which are both cultural and institutional.

Colleges and educational institutions can make a meaningful difference in helping to achieve the societal goal of integration of minority groups into the mainstream. University campuses can be the platform that offers today's youth an opportunity to interact in meaningful ways with individuals from different cultural groups, and to begin the process of systemic social change in institutions of higher learning. Gordon Allport (1979) proposed that (a) the creation of equal status among persons from different groups, (b) the identification of common group goals, (c) an emphasis on the need to promote cooperation among members of diverse groups to meet their shared goals, and (d) overt sanction and support by persons in authority positions, are the four conditions that foster greater contact across cultural groups. Various courses offered on college campuses offer the four conditions that can foster greater intergroup contact, and in turn greater multicultural awareness. Students from different racial and ethnic groups share an equal status within a classroom, and have common group goals of learning; there also is an emphasis on the need to promote cooperation among members of various groups to meet the shared goals of successfully completing the class and gaining knowledge learning, and a professor or teaching instructor who oversees the whole process (Utsey, Ponterotto, & Porter, 2008).

Overview of Research on Multicultural Courses

As United States and university campuses become increasingly diverse and global, universities are relying on a variety of diversity courses to increase multicultural awareness among their students. The national survey administered by the Association of American Colleges and Universities (AACU) in 2000 established that diversity education as a requirement was becoming a trend in undergraduate education. The survey found that 62% of colleges and universities which responded to the AACU survey either had a diversity requirement in place or they were in process of or they are in the process of establishing one (Humphreys, 1998). Some benefits of multicultural education in colleges are an increased awareness of students to social issues; increased sensitivity towards social justice, and greater tendency to maintain cross-racial contact after college. For most educational institutions increasing the numbers of racial/ethnic students is considered most important when considering diversity on campus; however it is crucial to create a campus climate in which students are educated in distinct racial contexts. Further, it is important to help students learn to appreciate the unique experiences and world views of different cultural/racial/ethnic groups that have historically been underrepresented in higher education (Hurtado et. al., 1999). Research (Gurin, 1999) has also highlighted the various benefits of diversity, including higher cross-racial interactions five years after leaving college.

Empathy and Ethnocultural Empathy

The term *empathy* is derived from the Greek word *empathia*, and it refers to understanding, and vicariously experiencing the feelings, thoughts and experience of another. Empathy is frequently referred to as an ability to put oneself in someone else's place even though one is not that person, and can never understand the other person completely (Hill, 2004). Various scholars (Duan and Hill, 1996; Egan, 1994, as cited by Ketelle & Mesa, 2006; Nystul,

1999) have defined empathy as an ability to communicate a sense of understanding and caring regarding another individual's feelings, thoughts, and experiences. Ethnocultural empathy is a relatively new construct in psychological literature. Various terms have been used to describe the empathy for different cultural groups. Ivey, Ivey, and Simek-Downing (1987), used the term *cultural empathy*; Ridley and Lingle, 1996, used the term *empathetic multicultural awareness*; Scott and Borodovsky, 1990, used the term *cultural role taking*. Some other interchangeably used terms to explain the concept of empathy in cross-cultural context are- ethnic perspective taking (Quintana, Ybarra, Gonzalez-Doupe, & Baessa, 2000), culturally sensitive empathy (Chung & Bemak, 2002) and ethnotherapeutic empathy (Parson, 1993).

Cultural empathy is a capacity to identify with the feelings, thoughts, and behavior of individuals from different cultural backgrounds. Ridley and Lingle's (1996) definition of cultural empathy captures the multidimensionality of culture, and describes cultural empathy as an ability to relate interpersonally as well as to understand and communicate across cultures while simultaneously using perceptual, affective, and cognitive processes. They emphasized that cultural empathy is not only the learned ability of the counselor to accurately understand the experience of culturally diverse clients but also an ability to communicate this understanding effectively with an attitude of concern for culturally different clients (p. 32). Wang et al., (2003) utilized the tripartite structural layout of cultural empathy as defined by Ridely and Lingle (1996), and defined ethnocultural empathy as "a learned ability and a personal trait, which can be assessed, and has intellectual empathy, empathic emotions, and the communication of both these elements."

It has been demonstrated that empathy is a key mediator in prejudice reduction and empathy induction is an effective way of changing individuals' attitudes toward oppressed

groups (Batson et al., 1997). Empathy is considered both a skill and trait (Johnson, 1990, Duan & Hill, 1996). It may be innate however throughout our lives we are coached to feel empathically, thereby continuously enhancing our empathic abilities. As a learned skill, empathy has been examined as an ability that can be instilled which can lead to more positive attitudes towards members of outgroup (Batson et al., 1997). This is also likely to result in an increased awareness about importance of valuing other individual's welfare and initiate attitude change towards oppressed individuals (Batson et al., 1997; Batson, Turk, et al., 1995). Hoffman (2000) indicated that empathy is a crucial precursor for pro-social behavior and justice orientation, and social justice advocacy leads to greater empathy for the disadvantaged groups.

Allport's (1979, original work in 1954) revolutionary intergroup contact theory discussed the role knowledge played in reducing prejudice. Research (Pettigrew & Tropp, 2008), has emphasized the role that intercultural knowledge, which is knowledge about groups other than one's own, can play in prejudice reduction and have also called attention to knowledge as a key mediator in prejudice reduction. As social science experts continue to strive to understand the multi-dimensional nature of various forms of oppression, social justice advocates are also working hard to find interventions to reduce prejudice and inter-racial conflicts, and to increase intercultural empathy. Psychologists have been investigating the causes and consequences of prejudice for more than a century and working hard to develop effective prejudice reduction techniques based on education and experience (Pettijohn & Walzer, 2008). McFarland (2009) emphasized the potency of empathy in inter-group contact and found that empathy is a key negative correlate of prejudice, authoritarianism, and social dominance orientation. Further, Pettigrew and Tropp (2008) in their meta-analysis of more than 500 studies found that enhancing knowledge about the out-group, reducing anxiety about intergroup contact, and increasing

empathy and perspective taking were the three most important mediators in intergroup prejudice reduction. Research by Batson et al. 1995, 1997, suggests that inducing empathy for a member of a stigmatized group can reduce prejudice, stereotyping, and discrimination towards the group as a whole.

Empathic feelings that can be stimulated by taking the perspective of an oppressed/stigmatized person are effective in improving attitudes towards oppressed/stigmatized person and also their group (Batson et al., 2002). Moreover various empathy training workshops appear to reduce prejudice regardless of the demographic characteristics of the participants (Aboud & Levy, 2000). One of the pragmatic advantages of empathy programs is that it is relatively easy to apply in a wide range of situations. It is plausible for an individual to consider questions such as “how would I react if I was this person, or if I was in that situation? How are they feeling right now? Or what makes them behave in a particular way?”

American Psychological Association (APA) guidelines on multicultural education and training encourage psychologists to spread multicultural knowledge supported by the premise that greater knowledge of, and contact with the other groups results in greater intercultural communication and less prejudice and stereotyping (APA, 2002). Further, research in multicultural education (Astin, 1993; Chang, 2002; Gurin, 1999) has found that racially diverse educational environments are associated with positive social and academic outcome for college students; in addition to promoting greater student achievement (Banks & Banks, 2004). Through multicultural curriculum, educational experiences, regular classroom-based collaborative work and ongoing student activities colleges must facilitate inter-cultural contact, knowledge, and ethno-cultural empathy so that that students identifying with different races, cultures, sexes, and sexual orientations develop positive attitudes and mutual respect for each other.

Empathy- personality trait or learned skill.

The evidence that exists for a relationship between emotional intelligence and personality variables is much stronger than the evidence for a relationship with intelligence (Van Der Zee, Thijs, & Schakel, 2002; Ekehammar et al., 2004). A correlation between empathy and various traits of the Five Factor model is expected (Barrio, Aluja, & Garcia, 2004). Individuals high on the Agreeableness construct are typically good team members, tend to be friendly and warm, tend to have respect for others, and tend to be sensitive to other people's wishes and value interpersonal interactions (Lounsbury et al., 2003). Overall agreeable individuals are likely to show an inclination to be agreeable, being pleasant, equable participative, helpful, cooperative, and are keen to work and interact harmoniously with others. Conversely, individuals scoring low on Agreeableness are more argumentative, critical, and difficult to get along with in group settings. Specifically, empathy should correlate significantly and positively with Agreeableness (Barrio, Aluja, & Garcia, 2004). Primarily an element of interpersonal behavior, agreeableness represents the quality of interaction from compassion to antagonism (Costa, McCrae, & Dye, 1991; McCrae & Costa, 1987). Extraversion is another personality trait which is associated with a greater tendency to interact with others and inclination to seek interpersonal relationships with others (x McCrae & Costa, 1987). Individuals, who score high on extraversion scales tend to be externally focused, tend to be sociable, outgoing, gregarious, warmhearted, expressive, talkative and gain energy from interactions with others (Lounsbury et al., 2003). The construct of Openness pertains to the ability to embrace change, accept new tasks, seek novel experiences, and appreciate innovation (Lounsbury et al., 2003; McCrae & Costa, 1987). It makes sense that individuals who score higher on this construct may be more willing to explore other cultures, have a greater tendency to interact with individuals who are culturally or ethnically different

from them, and perhaps more interested in be cultural broaching, continuing education, and knowing about beliefs and value systems of others. A recent study by Barrio, Aluja, & Garcia, (2004), investigating the relationship between empathy and the Big Five personality model in a group of Spanish adolescents found that empathy correlates strongly with agreeableness, and additionally found positive non-significant correlations with Conscientiousness, Energy/Extraversion, and Openness to experiences.

Adult Attachment and Empathy

Early attachment with caregivers lays the foundation for adult attachment style. Attachment styles have significant influence over various psychological phenomena including self- and social schemas, intergroup relations, self-regulation of stress and emotion, and the quality of relationships with romantic or marital partners (Mikulincer & Shaver, 2003, as cited in Mikulincer, Shaver, Gillath, & Nitzberg, 2005). In this study, attachment avoidance was negatively associated with Acceptance of Cultural Differences. Acceptance of cultural differences includes the understanding, acceptance, and valuing of cultural traditions and customs different from one's own (Wang et al., 2003). The acceptance of cultural requires empathic concern with the ability to engage directly with an individual from differing racial and ethnic groups. An individual with high scores on avoidant attachment is indicative of a tendency to maintain distance by restricting emotional and behavioral investment in social and romantic relationships. Researchers have found that individuals with secure attachment base are more likely to react to members of outgroup and others' needs with empathic responses and experience lower levels of personal distress. Mikulincer & Shaver (2001) in a series of five studies found that relative activation of secure attachment in individuals reduced the intensity of negative reactions to members from outgroup, and subsequently allows individuals to be more accepting

of individuals who belong to different groups than ones' own and also to accept individuals with differing worldviews. In another study Mikulincer et al. (2001), found that individuals with lower scores along dimensions of attachment avoidance and anxiety had higher empathic and personal distress reaction to the need of others. They also found significant associations between attachment-avoidance scores and empathy. The ability to accept cultural differences requires a person to be open and trusting in relationships, which requires a secure attachment base. An individual with ambiguous feelings about close relationships will perhaps struggle to be open to alternate worldviews and individuals with different group memberships than their own.

Present Study

Almost all American universities are taking initiatives to make their campuses diverse and cross cultural; however, the research on the impact of these initiatives and programs on undergraduate students is sparse. The few studies that could be located in the literature have focused specifically on diversity or multicultural courses in prejudice reduction, and investigated the effectiveness of multicultural education (Camicia, 2007), psychology of prejudice course (Pettijohn, & Walzer, 2008), diversity education (Hogan, & Mallott, 2005), and taking a diversity course (Case, 2007) among the undergraduate student population. This study will examine the impact of a curriculum that includes a multicultural component intended to enhance multicultural related knowledge on college students' openness to cultural diversity and a greater interest in other cultures. The current investigation will examine the effect of including multicultural content in an introduction to psychology curriculum, and whether addition of specialized curriculum is linked to an increase in a student's ethnocultural empathy and interest in different cultures. The second purpose of the study is to examine trait-like individual difference variables that may influence response to the readings. Specifically the variables the

study will look at are the Big-5 personality variables of Openness to Experience, Extraversion, Agreeableness, Conscientiousness, and Neuroticism..

Hypotheses

Main Hypothesis: Students in the Experimental group exposed to multicultural articles in the Introduction to Psychology class will have a significantly greater increase in multicultural variables (Ethnocultural Empathy, Universal-Diverse Orientation and Openness to Diversity) from pre to mid-semester test than students in the control group who are not exposed to the readings. An additional research question to be explored is whether students' Big Five personality traits (Agreeableness, Openness to Experiences, Conscientiousness, Emotional Stability and Extraversion), will significantly interact with the multicultural variables due to their exposure to the multicultural readings. I will also examine the interaction between students' Attachment styles (Attachment Avoidance and Attachment) and their responses on multicultural variables.

CHAPTER II

METHOD

Participants

Participants in the current study were the undergraduate students enrolled in the Introduction to Psychology course at a large Southeastern public university. At Time 1, one week after the beginning of the Fall, 2009 semester, 1216 students completed surveys, however 139 (11%) of these contained responses that suggested a random or inattentive pattern of responding, leaving 1114 valid responses for Time 1. At Time 2, 865 students completed surveys, however, 157 (18%) of these contained responses that suggested a random or inattentive pattern of responding, leaving 708 valid responses for Time 2.

The mean age of the participants at Time 1 was 18.54 years ($SD = 1.12$, range 18–33). The sample at Time 1 included more women (56%, $n = 622$) than men (44%, $n = 489$); 3 respondents did not indicate their gender. In terms of relationship status 37% ($n = 416$) reported being in a committed relationship, 61% ($n = 675$) reported being single, 1% ($n = 7$) participants reported their marital status as married, and 1% ($n = 13$) reported that they were living with a partner, less than 0.4% participants reported that they were divorced ($n = 2$) or had a deceased spouse ($n = 1$). In terms of ethnic identification at Time 1 82% ($n = 913$) indicated Caucasian, 8.7% ($n = 97$) African American, 3.4% ($n = 38$) Asian American, 1.7% ($n = 19$) Hispanic, 0.3% ($n = 3$) Native American, 2.2% ($n = 24$) more than one ethnic identification, 0.1% ($n = 1$) multiple ethnic identifications, and 1.7% of participants ($n = 19$) indicated other for ethnic identification. With regard to self-reports of diversity at high school attended, 19% ($n = 210$) of students reported attending a high school with little diversity, 31.5% ($n = 351$) reported attending a high school with no diversity, 37.5% ($n = 418$) of participants reported attending a somewhat

diverse high school, and finally 12.1% ($n = 135$) participants reported attending a very diverse high school.

Among the Time 2 participants, 56.8% ($n = 438$) were women, and 43.8% ($n = 341$) were men; 2 participants did not report their gender. The sample at Time 2 contained students in the following racial-ethnic groups: 62 African American (7.9%), 21 Asian American (2.7%), 648 White/Caucasian (83%), 15 Hispanic (1.9%), 1 Native American (0.1%), 18 (2.3%) reported more than one ethnic identification and 16 indicated other. The data were collected in an introduction to psychology class which includes a majority of freshman. Therefore information on academic major was not collected. However, this course can be taken to fulfill the social sciences requirement at the University by various academic majors including accounting, art, biology, business, history, economics, information science, linguistics, math, psychology, public policy, sociology, and urban studies etc.

Measures

Balanced inventory of desirable responding (BIDR; Paulhus, 1984). Participant's level of social desirability bias and the degree to which they consciously present inflated descriptions to please others was measured by using the Impression Management (IM) subscale of the BIDR (Paulhus, 1984). The measure includes 10 negatively worded and 10 positively worded items. Agreement with each item is rated on a seven-point scale ranging from 1 (not at all true) to 7 (very true). The responses on the BIDR are calculated by first assigning items for which respondents report an extreme response (6 or 7) a score of "1" and then summing each of these extreme response items. Total scores can range from 0 to 20 on the IM subscale, and higher scores indicate a greater tendency to respond in a more socially desirable way. Impression management (IM) on BIDR is a measure of tendency to intentionally modify responses in order

to present a favorable social image (Paulhus, 1991). It implies a conscious desire to create a positive image on others. The items include questions about evident behaviors, and as such, respondents more or less are aware of their true responses. An example item is, "I never take things that don't belong to me." Paulhus (1988) validated scores on the BIDR by administering it to a group of undergraduate students and reported that coefficient alphas for the impression management subscale ranged between .74 and .86. The concurrent validity of 40 item BIDR scale was established with the Marlowe-Crowne scale, with a correlation of .71 was a measure of socially desirable responding and 0.80 with the Multidimensional Social Desirability Inventory of Jacobson, Kellogg, Cauce and Slavin (as cited by Paulhus, 1991). In the present study, internal reliability (coefficient alpha) for this scale was .76.

Experiences in close relationships scale, short form (ECRS-S, Wei, Russell, Mallinckrodt, & Vogel, 2007). A 12-item, shortened version of the Experiences in Close Relationship Scale (ECR; Brennan, Clark, & Shaver, 1998) was used in this study to measure students' general pattern of adult attachment. The internal consistency coefficient alpha of the ECR-S was reported to be .78 for the anxiety subscale and .84 for the avoidance subscale in samples of undergraduate students (Wei et al., 2007). The subscales measure two distinct dimensions of attachment, and have a low correlation with each other of .19. Additionally the authors also reported high correlation of .95 between the scores of ECR, and ECR- S. In the current study, internal reliabilities (coefficient alpha) for the anxiety and avoidant subscales for Time 1 were .70 and .77 respectively. For Time 2, the internal consistency reliability (coefficient alpha) for the anxiety and avoidant subscales, in the present study, were .77 and .80 respectively.

Miville–Guzman universality–diversity Scale-short form (M-GUDS-S; Fuertes, Miville, Mohr, Sedlacek, & Gretchen, 2000). Participants' awareness and acceptance of both

the commonality and diversity that exists in people of ethnic and racial groups different from their own was measured using the *M-GUDS-S*. The *M-GUDS-S* is a 15-item short form of 45-item Miville–Guzman Universality– Diversity Scale (*M-GUDS*), and was developed from the original scale based upon items with the highest loading. Respondents rate each item on a six point Likert like continuum, “1” (strongly disagree) to “6” (strongly agree). *M-GUDS-S*, like the parent scale has a three-factor structure: (a) Diversity of Contact, (b) Relativistic Appreciation, and (c) Comfort with Differences. Higher scores on Diversity of Contact reflect an individual’s interest in participating in social and cultural activities of diverse groups measuring the behavioral component of Universal Diverse Orientation (Fuentes et al., 2000). The second factor of the *M-GUDS-S* denotes Relativistic Appreciation, or the degree to which a person values the impact of diversity on self-understanding and personal growth. The subscale emphasizes the cognitive components of Universal Diverse Orientation (UDO). Finally, the third factor, Comfort with Differences measures an individual’s degree of comfort with diversity and diverse individuals. Higher scores are indicative of a greater appreciation of similarities and differences in individuals who are ethnically and culturally different from one’s own. *MGUDS-S* has shown a strong, positive correlation with the original version, which has demonstrated test-retest reliability of .94 and convergent and discriminant validity obtained with a diverse sample of college students (Fuentes et al.; Miville et al., 1999). Additionally, Fuentes et al. (2000) reported that with a sample of undergraduate college students, the Cronbach’s alpha for the final version of *M-GUDS-S* was .77, and the correlation coefficient between the *M-GUDS* and *M-GUDS-S* was also reported to be .77 ($p < .001$). The authors of original *M-GUDS* found it to be significantly and positively correlated with healthy narcissism, empathy, positive attitudes towards feminism, androgyny, and positive aspects of African American and White racial

identity. The construct of UDO is negatively correlated with dogmatism and homophobia (Miville et al., 1999). The factor structure of the M-GUDS-S was established by conducting confirmatory factor analysis. The developers suggested that the M-GUDS-S is an effective instrument for measuring the general process of awareness and acceptance of similarities and differences between oneself and other people. In the present study, internal consistency reliabilities (coefficient alpha) for subscales of MGUDS-S Diversity of Contact; Relativistic Appreciation and Comfort with Differences at Time 1 were .79, .75, and .78 respectively. At Time 2 of the current study, the internal consistency reliability (coefficient alpha) for subscales Diversity of Contact, Relativistic Appreciation, and Comfort with Differences were .80, .83, and .81 respectively.

Openness to diversity scale (ODS; Pascarella, Edison, Nora, Hagedon, & Terenzini, 1996). This measure was used to assess college students' openness to diversity and challenge. The scale contains eight items and measures an individuals' enjoyment of being challenged by different ideas, values, perspectives, as well as appreciation of racial and cultural diversity (Pascarella et al., 1996). The items in ODS are rated on a five- point Likert-type scale ranging from "1" (strongly disagree) to "5" (strongly agree). The range of scores is from 8 to 40. Thus higher scores indicate greater openness to cultural diversity and challenge. Pascarella et al. reported internal consistency reliability of the scale with college students ranges from .83 to .85. Openness to Diversity total scale scores have been found to be significantly positively correlated with student's participation in racial or cultural workshops, studying abroad, and greater interaction with diverse peers (Pascarella et al.1996,; Wortman, 2002). In the current study the internal consistency reliability (coefficient alpha) for this scale at Time 1, and Time 2, was .84, and .89 respectively.

Resource Associate's Adolescent Personal Style Inventory (APSI) for college students (Lounsbury et al., 2003). The APSI is a normal personality inventory contextualized for adolescents and has been used for early, middle, and late adolescents (Jaffe, 1998) from middle school through high school and college. Item contextualization was based on research showing that the validity of general personality scales can be enhanced by minor wording changes to reflect the context of interest (Schmit, Ryan, Stierwalt, & Powell, 1995). For example, the item "I like to learn something I never knew before" used to measure Openness to Experience was phrased "I like to take classes where I learn something I never knew before." The APSI which is a self report measure contains 48 items based on personality. It contains wording tailored for student populations and includes items represented by statements like- "I try to be very neat and organized in my homework and class assignments." The respondents are asked to express agreement or disagreement on a five-point Likert scale. (1=Strongly Disagree; 2= Disagree; 3=Neutral/Undecided; 4=Agree; 5=Strongly Agree). APSI is a valid personality measure that can be used for college students and was various studies tested its reliability, criterion-related validity, and construct validity (see Lounsbury, Gibson, Sundstrom, Wilburn, and Loveland, 2003; Lounsbury, Loveland, Sundstrom, Gibson, Drost, & Hamrick, 2003; Lounsbury, J. W., Sundstrom, E., Gibson, L. W., & Loveland, J. L., 2003 and Lounsbury, Tatum, Gibson, Park, Sundstrom, Hamrick, and Wilburn, 2003). The APSI measures the Big Five personality traits of: (1) Conscientiousness (being reliable, trustworthy, responsible, orderly, and rule-following), (2) Emotional Stability (overall level of adjustment and emotional resilience in the face of stress and pressure; in other words the inverse of neuroticism), (3) Extraversion (disposition to be sociable, outgoing, gregarious, warmhearted, expressive, and talkative), (4) Openness (receptivity and openness to change, innovation, new experience, and learning), and (5) Agreeableness. In the

present study, internal consistency reliability (coefficient alpha) for the subscales Agreeableness, Conscientiousness, Emotional Stability, Extroversion, and Openness to Experience were .78, .83, .85, .84 and .78, respectively.

Scale of ethnocultural empathy (SEE; Wang et al., 2003). Students' ethnocultural empathy towards people who are racially, ethnically, and culturally different from them was measured with the SEE. The scale is composed of 31 items across four subscales. These four subscales include items that measure four distinct components of empathy- Empathic Feeling and Expression (EFE), Empathic Perspective Taking (EP), Acceptance of Cultural Differences (AC), and Empathic Awareness (EA). Empathic Feeling and Expression (EFE) corresponds with affective empathy which an individual is likely to experience when they encounter discrimination, racism, or prejudice against minorities or people from different racial or ethnic groups, and can be in the form of thoughts, feelings, words, or actions that "relate directly to the discriminatory experiences"(Wang et al., 2003). Empathic Perspective Taking (EP) specifies an individual's ability to take perspectives of people from different racial and ethnic backgrounds, and efforts to understand their experiences and emotions. The third subscale, Acceptance of Cultural Differences (AC), measures an ability to understand, accept, and value cultural traditions and customs of individuals from differing racial and ethnic groups. The fourth subscale, Empathic Awareness (EA), measures an individual's awareness or knowledge of experiences about people from racial or ethnic groups different from one's own. The items in the SEE are rated on a six point Likert-type scale ranging from "1" (strongly disagree that it describes me) to "6" (strongly agree that it describes me). Thus, higher scores on this instrument indicate higher ethnocultural empathy. Wang et al. reported internal consistency reliability (Cronbach's alpha) for the subscales ranged from .71 (AC) to .90 (EFE) in a sample of

undergraduates. Wang et al. also reported two week test-retest reliability scores of .76 for SEE, .76 for EFE, .75 for EP, .86 for AC, and .64 for EA. Wang et al. (2003) suggested that it is a suitable instrument to measure awareness about multiculturalism, and also to evaluate for effectiveness of various diversity programs which attempt to make students multiculturally knowledgeable and facilitate attitude change. For the present study, the internal consistency reliability (coefficient alpha) for Time 1 for the four subscales Empathic Feeling and Expression (EFE), Empathic Perspective Taking (EP), Acceptance of Cultural Differences (AC), and Empathic Awareness (EA) was .88, .75, .76, and .71 respectively. For Time 2 the internal consistency reliability (coefficient alpha) for the four subscales Empathic Feeling and Expression (EFE), Empathic Perspective Taking (EP), Acceptance of Cultural Differences (AC), and Empathic Awareness (EA) of the Scale of Ethnocultural Empathy (SEE) in the current study was .89, .74, .77, and .75 respectively.

Procedure

University of Tennessee Ready for the World and the readings in multicultural psychology.

University of Tennessee's "Ready for the World" is an international and intercultural awareness initiative which is part of university's long-term plan to create, and sustain a welcoming, supportive, and inclusive climate (University of Tennessee, Ready for the World). To prepare students for working and succeeding in a diverse world, the university began planning for "Ready for the World" with a preliminary goal of fostering and supporting a campus-wide culture of diversity, and multiculturalism. The program's overarching aim is to prepare students, faculty, and staff for success in a constantly changing dynamic global society. One of the main purposes of this program is to broaden the student's cultural knowledge,

enhance their educational experience and most of all equip them with the multicultural awareness that is required to excel in this diverse world.

Additionally, Ready for the World also focuses on encouraging its students to study abroad, offer intercultural experiences through curricula, and involvement in a multitude of multicultural experiences. Through these efforts the Ready for the World program is working to help undergraduates gain a worldview that recognizes, understands, and celebrates the complexity of cultures and people. Another goal of this program is to encourage critical thinking in its students about various international and intercultural issues; and to facilitate a life-long love affair with global learning. Various programs and workshops supported by the Ready for the World program aspire to help students in gaining competence in both domestic and international cross-cultural communication. One of the nursing students, enrolled at the University of Tennessee, English Cranfield, who traveled to Costa Rica and Panama on a medical mission trip this spring through UT's College of Nursing described the potency of various intercultural experiences accurately as she said, "When you immerse yourself in another culture, your haughty ideals, misconceptions, prejudices and proud heart melt away. These trips have helped shape my personality and have given me confidence in myself" (personal communication).

As part of the Ready for the World program at the University of Tennessee, Dr. Richard Saudargas at the department of psychology took the initiative of examining research in multicultural psychology and included readings in multicultural psychology in the introduction of psychology coursework. When the University of Tennessee adopted the Ready for the World program Dr. Saudargas was working on the second edition of the introduction to psychology textbook, and thought that adding multi-cultural articles would fit in nicely with the Ready for

the World mission. The companion text book to introduction to psychology course book is titled “Readings in Multicultural Psychology,” and is a natural segue from the original introduction to psychology textbook. This book contains original research articles that examine topics in psychology from a cross-cultural and multi-cultural perspective.

The director of Undergraduate Education agreed to allow our research team to solicit students from the Introduction to Psychology class for completion of pre, mid-point, and post assessments. The Introductory Psychology class is a survey class which includes topics covering the entire field of psychology. The course meets three times a week, 55 minutes each session, for the standard 14-week period on the term system used by the institution. The syllabus and course readings for all sections of Introduction to Psychology is uniform.

During Fall 2009, five sections were chosen to be included in this study. Instructors of these classes were contacted by the researcher about their willingness to participate in the study. All five course instructors were second year doctoral students in counseling psychology. Four of the instructors were white and one instructor identified as an African American. Participants were undergraduate students enrolled in these five sections were the participants of this study. In the five sections chosen for this study, two sections had 300 students each, two had 240 students each, and one section had 235 students. Instructors of these courses were contacted to be briefed about this study, and to answer any questions they might have before the beginning of classes in Fall 2009.

For purpose of this research, the specialized multicultural content included in the introduction to psychology curriculum refers to the multicultural articles included in the Readings in Multicultural Psychology textbook. The book has 16 empirical research articles, one discussion article and two qualitative research articles. The articles were selected based on their

correspondence with chapters in the introduction to psychology textbook, length (not too long or complicated), their appeal, and interest to the students. This companion text book was first introduced in the introduction to psychology coursework in year 2007. The articles encompass a range of social-science disciplines and were chosen from various journals. The research participants in these readings were from different countries including Japan, Italy, Ghana, Tanzania, Italy, New Zealand, Australia, Canada, Thailand, Finland, and Middle Eastern countries. The articles included correspond with the topics in the introduction to psychology textbook. A geographic map and a brief history of the country in which the study took place are followed by the journal article, and article questions which ask for specific material in the research articles.

Each class instructor of the introduction to psychology course is required to include four multicultural articles in their curriculum during the entire course term. The researcher contacted the instructors for their preferences for particular multicultural articles included in the readings of Multicultural psychology textbook and most commonly chosen articles (articles which got highest votes by all five instructors) were finally selected to be included as the multicultural articles to be discussed and covered in these respective sections. The empirical articles in this text book focus on comparing the White individualistic American culture with East Asian, Italian, Middle Eastern, Canadian, or African American cultures. Some of the articles discuss important topics like Eating Disorders, cultural intelligence or the differences in verbs and adjective usage in Italians and Japanese. These articles highlight the cultural differences that exist in various cultures, and serve as a great starting point to encourage students to be open and empathic towards other cultures

All five instructors agreed on discussing the same four articles in their class. The four articles were- for Unit-1- “Adolescent-Family Connectedness Among Arabs: A Second Cross-Generational Research Study (Dwairy, et al., 2006); for Unit-2- “Body Image and Self-Esteem: A Comparison of African American and Caucasian Women (Molloy, & Herzberger, 1998)””; for Unit -3- “Do We Dream in Color? Cultural Variations and Skepticism (Schwitzgebel, Huan, & Zhou, 2006)””; for Unit-4- “Young Adult Attachment Styles and Intimate Relationships with Close Friends: A Cross-Cultural Study of Korean and Caucasian Americans (You, & Malley-Morrison, 2000)””.

The control and experimental sections for this study were chosen by the random method of tossing a coin. The researcher asked an acquaintance who was unrelated to the study or the instructors to toss the coin and assign two sections as control group, two as the experimental group. The course taught by the African American instructor was assigned as a separate section which followed the readings as per experimental sections. The experimental sections covered four articles throughout the semester, with one article included in every unit. The multicultural articles were not presented and discussed in the control sections until Fall break and after midterm exams. In these two control groups, the students were introduced to the multicultural readings after Fall break or midterm exams, whichever came earlier for that section. Two other sections selected at random followed the standard schedule and students read and discussed readings in multicultural articles beginning in the first month of classes, throughout the course. Instructors were sent identical sets of Powerpoint slides which included the information on MC articles and the points for discussion. To maintain uniformity of the intervention the instructors covered the articles in their class using same powerpoint slides and also administered similar quiz to the students.

After receiving the University Institutional Review Board approval for the Protection of Human Subjects, the researcher attended the class periods within the first week of classes to explain the research and to distribute pre-tests to students who chose to participate. The surveys were distributed at two points. Time 1 was within the first week of classes. Time 2 occurred the week before midterm examinations. At both administrations the surveys were distributed in class, and the researcher distributed the informed consent and explained that the purpose of study was to assess how the course content in the introductory psychology leads to change in attitudes for undergraduate students. Participants received course credit for each time they completed the surveys.

The Time 1 survey packet included demographic questions, Personality Style Inventory for Adolescents (APSI), Experiences in Close Relationships Short Form (ECRS-S), Miville–Guzman Universality– Diversity Scale-Short form (M-GUDS-S), Scale of Ethnocultural Empathy (SEE), Balanced Inventory of Desirable Responding (BIDR), Openness to Diversity Scale (ODS), and 8 items from the UT Ready for the World pre- questionnaire. The Time 2 survey packet included Experiences in Close Relationships Short Form (ECRS-S), Miville–Guzman Universality– Diversity Scale-Short form (M-GUDS-S), Scale of Ethnocultural Empathy (SEE), and Openness to Diversity Scale (ODS).

An informed consent and instructions about answering the questions included in survey packet were given at each time. Participation was voluntary. Extra credit research points were given for each time the participants participated in the study. Students who preferred not to be assessed were told they could work quietly on other activities while their classmates completed the packets. They had access to many alternative ways to earn credit. To protect participants' confidentiality, the researcher gave instructions to participants to use a six character code name

which they could use at both time points, including two letters and four numbers. To maintain the consistency of using the same code at both times, participants were encouraged to use their Mother's initials and the last four digits of their mothers' telephone number as their unique code name.

Chapter III

RESULTS

Preliminary Analyses

Of the 1216 students who completed surveys at Time 1, 1077 participants remained after excluding 139 (11.4%) based on their response to the embedded validity items because these contained responses that suggested a random or inattentive pattern of responding. At Time 2, 708 valid responses remained from the 865 students who completed surveys. At Time 2, 157 (18.2%) participants were excluded based on missing one or more embedded validity items. Preliminary analyses were conducted to determine the correlations between primary variables. Means, standard deviations, and correlations among variables at Time 1 and Time 2 are displayed in Tables 1 and 2.

To determine whether the five class sections were equivalent at Time 1, a one-way Multivariate analysis of variance (MANOVA) was used. The eight dependent variables were the four subscales of the Scale of Ethnocultural Empathy (SEE) (Empathic Feeling and Expression; Empathic Perspective Taking; Acceptance of Cultural Differences; Empathic Awareness), the three subscales of Miville-Guzman Universality-Diversity Scale-Short form (MGUDS-S) (Diversity of Contact; Relativistic Appreciation, Comfort with Differences), and the Openness to Diversity Scale (ODS). The MANOVA results at Time 1 indicated that the sections differed significantly (Wilks' Lambda = 0.939, $F(324, 3991) = 2.13$, $p < .001$, partial eta squared = .02). The univariate tests shown in Table 3 indicate that at Time 1 the sections differed significantly in scores on three of four SEE subscales (Empathic Feeling and Expression, Acceptance of Cultural Differences, and Empathic Awareness), two of the three MGUDS-S subscales (Diversity of Contact, Comfort with Differences), and Openness to Diversity. Although these differences were

statistically significant, the effect sizes were small (partial eta squared $< .02$). Post hoc Scheffe *t*-tests were used to compare the five sections. Superscripts in Table 3 show pairs of sections that were significantly different at the $p < .05$ level. Only five pairs of sections were significantly different. In each case, students in the section taught by instructor F scored significantly higher than students in one or more other sections.

Similarly a one-way MANOVA was conducted at Time 2 to explore differences between the five sections in the same eight multicultural variables compared at Time 1. Results suggested that there were significant differences (Wilks' Lambda = 0.894, $F(40, 2865) = 2.14$, $p < .001$, partial eta squared = .03). The univariate tests shown in Table 4 indicate that at Time 2 the five sections differed significantly on two of the four SEE subscales (Empathic Perspective-Taking, and Acceptance of Cultural Differences), one of the three MGUDS-S subscales (Diversity of Contact), and Openness to Diversity. The post hoc Scheffe tests at Time 2 revealed that only eight pairs of sections differed on any variable. Of these, seven involved instructor F, whose students scored higher than the comparable section.

Tests of Hypotheses

Because preliminary analyses suggested that students in the section taught by instructor F significantly differed from some of the other sections at both Time 1 and Time 2, and because instructor F was African American, participants from this section were excluded from subsequent analyses. The remaining four sections were assigned to an "experimental" group consisting of the two sections (K and J) that had completed two multicultural readings between Time 1 and Time 2, and a "control" group consisting of the two sections (A and S) who had not completed any readings.

To test our main hypotheses a repeated measures MANCOVA was conducted with one between subjects factor “Group” (experimental vs. control), and one repeated measures factor designed as “Time.” BIDR scores were entered as a covariate to control for social desirability. The eight multicultural measures served as the dependent variables. Results suggested that there was a significant main effect for the social desirability covariate, Wilks’ Lambda = 0.87, $F(8,400) = 7.40, p < .001$, partial eta squared = .13; a significant main effect for Group Wilks’ Lambda = 0.96, $F(8,400) = 2.32, p < .001$, partial eta squared = .04; and a significant main effect for Time, Wilks’ Lambda = 0.89, $F(8,400) = 6.04, p < .001$, partial eta squared = .11. However, there were no significant interactions, including no significant Time X Group interaction, Wilks’ Lambda = 0.98, $F(8,400) = 1.06, p = .39$, partial eta squared = .02.

Thus, the main hypothesis of this study that students exposed to multicultural articles, compared to a control group who did not read the articles, in an introduction to psychology class will have a significantly greater increase in ethnocultural empathy, universal-diverse orientation, and openness to diversity from Time 1 to Time 2 was not supported. Table 5 shows that in general, the trend was that scores from Time 1 to Time 2 decreased for the experimental group, whereas for the control groups scores generally increased. Although the trend was not statistically significant, it is noteworthy that the pattern was exactly opposite to that which would have supported the hypothesis. Figures 1-3 show the pattern of these changes from Time 1 to Time 2. (Note that for the purposes of comparison, students from Instructor F’s class are included in these figures.)

Although students in general in the two sections exposed to the multicultural readings did not change significantly from Time 1 to Time 2, grouping the students together in the previous analyses may mask individual differences in responsiveness. To explore this possibility, within

the two sections exposed to the multicultural readings, a MANCOVA was conducted to explore whether individual traits were associated with the extent of change in multicultural attitudes. In this analysis there was no between subjects factor. Instead there was only a single within subjects factor of Time. For this analysis social desirability was not entered as a covariate, because some research (Barrick & Mount, 1996; Li & Bagger, 2006), suggests that it shares significant variance with some of the Big Five personality factors. Instead, the covariates were adult attachment anxiety and avoidance, together with the Big Five (Agreeableness, Conscientiousness, Openness to Experiences, Emotional Stability, and Extraversion) personality factors. The key tests in this analysis were the Time X trait interactions. Only one of the seven covariates exhibited a significant interaction with Time, adult attachment avoidance, Wilks' Lambda = 0.91, $F(8,176) = 2.15$, $p < .05$, partial eta squared = .09. Examination of univariate follow-up analyses suggested that only one of the eight dependent variables exhibited a significant interaction, the SEE Acceptance of Cultural Differences subscale, $F(1,183) = 8.89$, $p < .01$, partial eta squared = .05. The distribution of Avoidance scores at Time 2 was used to divide the experimental group into three subgroups based on high, medium, and low Avoidance scores. Figure 4 shows that participants low in Avoidance (and exposed to the multicultural readings) increased in acceptance of cultural differences, whereas those in the middle and high avoidance groups deteriorated in acceptance of differences from Time 1 to Time 2.

Chapter IV

DISCUSSION

The present study recognizes that diversity education in college is an important vehicle for promoting awareness. Diversity initiatives aim to bring change in students' perspectives regarding those in an ethnic group different from their own. Much of the current diversity education effectiveness research has focused exclusively on the specialized diversity initiatives; however, few studies have evaluated the impact of a curriculum that includes a multicultural component. This study examined how multicultural readings included in the introduction to psychology curriculum were linked to an increase in a students' ethnocultural empathy and interest in different cultures. Specifically, this study investigated the impact of reading and discussing multicultural articles on students' ethnocultural empathy, universality-diverse orientation, and openness to diversity, and possible individual differences influencing intervention efficacy. In the present study there was one comprehensive hypothesis which predicted that the experimental group, after being exposed to the multicultural readings would show a greater increase in multicultural variables (ethnocultural empathy, universality-diverse orientation, and openness to diversity). The study's main hypothesis was not supported, because the group X time treatment interaction was not significant. There was a non-significant trend contrary to the hypothesis, in that students in the control group sections actually scored higher on multicultural variables than students in experimental group, from Time 1 to Time 2.

Although there was no overall improvement, it is still possible that subgroups of students did improve while other students deteriorated. Exploratory analyses of personality traits as covariates suggested that only one variable, Attachment Avoidance, was associated with one multicultural outcome, namely, extent of change in SEE-Acceptance of Cultural Differences.

Attachment Avoidance was associated with a decrease in acceptance of cultural differences over time. In the next section, possible explanations for these patterns of findings will be explored.

Multicultural Course Interventions

Given the above mentioned results, the lack of significant increase in multicultural variables scores in the experimental group in comparison to the control group is surprising. Cognition, affect, and behavior all play a role in students transferring what they learn in the classroom to the real world (Harris, 2003). This finding is also in keeping with research that suggests that there are multiple components of multicultural competence with domains of knowledge, beliefs/attitudes, and skills (Pedersen, 1988; Sue, 2001). The tripartite model of attitudes has been empirically validated with affect, behavior, and cognition as distinct components of attitude (Breckler, 1984). Dovidio et al. (2004) further expanded it to explain prejudicial attitudes as also having cognitive, affective, and behavioral components. Change in behavioral components requires a change in cognitive and affective components first. Research has emphasized a linear progress with increase in cultural knowledge and awareness as the basic foundation for attitude change, which is a precursor for behavioral change and the development of new skills (Chang, 2001). The multicultural readings are original research articles that examine topics in psychology from a cross-cultural and multi-cultural perspective. Perhaps these readings and the following class discussions only began the process of change, but were not sufficiently extensive to complete the cognitive, affective, and behavioral change process.

Traditional didactic classroom trainings that involve lectures, class presentations, and research projects are thought to be less rigorous and therefore less likely to facilitate behavioral change in individuals. Research has suggested that when compared to interventions with passive participation, interventions which include active participation generally produce stronger attitude

and behavior change (Oskamp, 2000). These didactic methods have been proven effective for the transfer of knowledge and development of awareness, but they may be insufficient for the development of affective and behavioral goals (Mayhew and Fernandez, 2007).

The multicultural readings used in this study mainly target the cognitive component by discussing information related to diverse ethnic groups, and do not emphasize the affective component targeting more complex skills of empathy for diverse groups. Being open to diverse perspectives, having universal-diverse orientation and having empathy for diverse and oppressed groups are advanced changes that may occur subsequently to increased awareness about social issues of discrimination and oppression. Additionally, ethnocultural empathy is a rather complex and multidimensional construct which involves cognitive, affective, and communicative elements that develop over time. Cognitive elements of empathy enable the individual to see the world from the perspective of a member of another group, and seek knowledge about the cultural practices, norms, values, beliefs, standards, and views of outgroup members (Mealy, & Stephan, 2009; Stephan & Finlay, 1999). Affective empathy occurs when an individual in a particular group experiences corresponding emotions similar to the experienced emotions of outgroup member. Reactive empathy involves a different emotional responses by the ingroup member which is in reaction to the struggle/situation of outgroup members. Both affective and reactive empathy require an emotional response from the member of ingroup (Mealy & Stephan, 2009). The behavioral component of intergroup empathy includes acting on the emotions aroused, either by communicating a comprehension of the experiences of the outgroup member or displaying insight into their experiences. In summary, although, the multicultural readings included information related to diverse ethnic groups, the similarities and differences between various

racial, ethnic, and cultural groups, they are brief and therefore not sufficient to increase levels of inter-group empathy in students.

The constructs assessed by the MGUDS-S, ODS, and SEE all seem to comprise of items that primarily reflect very high levels of multicultural sensitivity, for example, these items on Scale of Ethnocultural Empathy: item 12 (I share the anger of people who face injustice because of their racial and ethnic backgrounds”); item 4 (“I know what it feels like to be the only person of a certain race or ethnicity in a group of people”) and item 13 (“When I interact with people from other racial or ethnic backgrounds, I show my appreciation of their cultural norms”), Similarly, the Miville–Guzman Universality– Diversity Scale-Short form measures respondent’s attitude of awareness and acceptance of both the commonality and diversity that exists in people of ethnic and racial groups different from their own. This scale also taps fairly sophisticated and highly committed levels of cultural sensitivity. For example MGUDS-S item one (“I would like to join an organization that emphasizes getting to know people from different countries”) and item 13(“I attend events where I might get to know people from different racial backgrounds”). The items in the Openness to Diversity instrument measure an individuals’ orientation to enjoy being challenged by different ideas, values, perspectives, as well as appreciation of racial and cultural diversity. The first and third items in ODS involve enjoying discussions with individuals who have diverse ideas different from oneself and discussions with diverse people respectively. Further item four assesses the importance of contact with individuals from diverse background for the respondent; and item seven appraises whether respondent views contact with individuals from diverse backgrounds as an essential part of their college education. Overall, the SEE, ODS, and MGUDS-S may be measuring a fairly deep level of multicultural awareness. The

two multicultural readings in a period of two months does not include enough treatment strength or duration for significant impact at these levels.

In corporate organizations mandatory diversity programs are ineffective and even counterproductive in increasing the number of women and minorities in managerial positions (Kalev, A. as cited by Vedantam, 2008). However when the training was voluntary and focused on intergroup relationships across various managerial levels, it was followed by an increase in managerial diversity. Jackson (1999) highlighted that when students who experience resistance to the content of multicultural courses, are required to attend to the information, they can feel ambushed and their resistance is prone to be displayed as anger, resentment, avoidance, and silence. Perhaps, the lack of improvement in multicultural sensitivity was due, in part, to a general trend of resistance to classroom cultural diversity, the racial composition of University which is predominantly White Students, and lack of intergroup contact. Brown (2004) proposed that students in a class diversity program who have had negative beliefs about the value of other cultures will enter in a contentious or distressed emotional state, and are more likely to use selective perception strategies to minimize internal conflict and reinforce biased beliefs about self and others.

Summary

In sum results of this study suggested that the included multicultural readings in the introduction to psychology class were not effective in bringing significant increase in students' ethncultural empathy, openness to diversity and universal-diverse orientation. It also identified a significant interaction between attachment avoidance and acceptance of cultural differences. Though the primary purpose of our study was to determine the effectiveness of an already included educational intervention, and to explore how it affected cultural knowledge and

awareness, the results make it also important to consider the mechanisms of this educational interventions to affect awareness and cultural knowledge about groups other than ones' own.

Limitations

The current study has several noteworthy limitations. The first is lack of random assignment of participants to experimental or control sections in the study. The study participants were students who self-enrolled in the introduction to psychology course, and chose to participate in this study. Thus the findings of the study could not be generalized to individuals who do not volunteer to participate in research. However to test the effectiveness of interventions, the sections were randomly assigned to control and experimental sections.

Another major limitation was possible influence of demand characteristics on the response pattern of participants. It is widely recognized that though unintended an experimenter's hopes and expectations about the outcome of an experiment can have significant effects on the actual outcome, sometimes to the point of invalidating the results (Rosenthal, 2002). One of the most important ways this can occur is through the effect of what are called experimental demand characteristics on the performance of the human subjects (Orne, 1962). Orne (1962) asserted that interactions between experimenter and subjects add social context to psychological experiments. He argued that during the experiments in psychology behavior of subjects in an experiment is influenced by the social context created by that experiment. Though the participants were not informed the accurate purpose of data collection, it is likely that the items of various measures made it easy for them to guess the true purpose of the investigation. The high scores across all five sections at Time 1 can likely be explained by demand characteristics. Additionally, for instructor F who self identified as African American the participants scores on almost all measures were higher. This could perhaps be due to them identifying her as a member of

minority, and additionally trying to help their instructor and/or experimenter by responding in the best possible way. As Orne (1962) asserted in his influential paper, that human participants try their best to assign meanings and purpose to the experiment they are participating in. Because of this response pattern for section F, it was important to exclude the data obtained from the section in overall results and analysis.

Additionally, the study also has limited geographic generalizability, as the data for this study was collected from just one university. Due to the present investigation being limited to a single semester for one specific class at a major single university, the results may not be generalizable to other types of academic setting or geographic areas. Additionally, the study did not include a control for environmental confounds like changing socio-political and financial environments. The research is also limited by use of self-report measures, and by the in-class distribution methods, both of which could have influenced the study results. A major limitation of this study was lack of data on teachers' approach to teaching the multicultural articles, their personality traits, their racial identity development and multicultural competency skills. This study investigated the effectiveness of multicultural readings which are included in the introduction to psychology curriculum, a class, which includes several diversity related elements. Furthermore, though the instructors in control sections did not go through the readings, the study could not limit all possible diversity related course-content or discussions. It would have been helpful to include control groups as sections or courses which include no content or information related to classroom diversity.

Implications for Future Research

A program aimed to increase multicultural awareness needs to be investigated to ensure that it is effective and more importantly not increasing racism and prejudice among participants

even when the immediate verbal self-reports provided by the participants indicates that they like the program. A wide variety of variables can explain the effectiveness of multicultural education programs, such as increasing empathy (Stephan & Finlay, 2000), providing more information about the outgroup (Stephan & Stephan, 1984), decreasing anxiety about interacting with outgroup ((Stephan & Stephan, 1984), emphasizing multiple identities (Brewer, 2000).

Uninvolved interventions like completing assigned readings, unfacilitated group discussions may inhibit attitude and behavior change (Stephan & Vogt, 2004). The importance of incorporating multicultural perspectives throughout the curriculum (Nieto, 2001) cannot be underestimated. However it is also crucial to carefully implement these perspectives, assessing the effectiveness of curricular changes and integrate findings from past and existing research.

One of the most important findings of this study is the interaction between attachment avoidance and acceptance of cultural differences. Additional investigations of the impact of attachment patterns on students' response to classroom diversity interventions are needed. Various scholars (Banks, 1995 & Carr, 2007) have called for including diversity elements throughout their course content. Although this study used valid and reliable constructs with both shared and distinct variance, its results highlighted the deficit of valid, reliable measures of the learning outcomes for investigating various classroom diversity interventions. The measures used in this study measure more advanced skills of multicultural competence, and are targeted to measure comprehensive and elaborate diversity interventions. Additional measures targeted specifically for undergraduate students need to be developed, so that diversity elements included in general requirement courses and diversity trainings for college students can be evaluated for their effectiveness. Additionally these measures should also incorporate the various stages of identity development and attempt to measure the three dimensions, knowledge, skills and attitude

of multicultural competence in undergraduate students. Future studies should also evaluate the impact of instructors' teaching style, ethnicity, personality traits and multicultural competence while evaluating the effectiveness of class-diversity initiatives.

Conclusion

The primary purpose of this study was to determine the effectiveness of an already included educational intervention, and to explore how it affected cultural knowledge and awareness. This study found that multicultural readings included in the introduction to psychology class did not result in significant increase in multicultural variables for students in the experimental group. This study was first of its kind in evaluating the diversity elements specifically providing information about outgroups in a general education requirement class for undergraduates. It highlights the importance of studying the impact of including such interventions, to ensure that they are not causing any deterioration in students' empathy and attitudes towards outgroups. With the changing demographics it is really important for college students to first acquire necessary knowledge for cultural awareness which is also the first stage for developing cultural awareness, knowledge and skills (Mayhew and Fernandez, 2007). Including the multicultural articles in the introduction to psychology curriculum is an important intervention which has the potential to increase awareness about outgroups. Without any background in diversity knowledge, frequently, undergraduate college students are likely to lack awareness about prejudice towards minority ethnic groups and often seem to be oblivious to existence of institutional racism; and think of racism as an individual phenomenon. Additionally, enhancing knowledge about outgroup is one of the three important mediators which explains the mechanism by which contact reduces prejudice. The multicultural readings can provide students with the knowledge and information about groups different from their own, thereby increasing

their learning about the out-group. The findings of this study call attention to considering the processes which make classroom diversity interventions effective, essentially, exploring how such educational interventions can be delivered to affect awareness and cultural knowledge about groups other than ones' own.

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APPENDIX

Table 1*Means, Standard Deviation, and Correlations for Primary Variables at Time 1*

Variable	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14
1. SEE Empathic Feeling and Expression	4.18	0.76	.47**	.50**	.50**	.58**	.56**	.51**	.54**	.30**	.09**	.00	.18**	.40**	.21**
2. SEE Empathic Perspective Taking	3.25	0.95		.35**	.33**	.45**	.23**	.38**	.34**	-.01	.00	.04	.03	.32**	-.01
3. SEE Acceptance of Cultural Differences	4.42	0.97		-	.29**	.45**	.33**	.55**	.40**	.24**	-.04	.06*	.02	.32**	.17**
4. SEE Empathic Awareness	4.27	0.93			-	.34**	.36**	.22**	.38**	.11**	.04	-.03	.07**	.20**	-.02
5. MGUDS-S Diversity of Contact	4.02	0.67				-	.48**	.38**	.58**	.14**	-.00	-.02	.17**	.55**	.05
6. MGUDS-S Relativistic Appreciation	3.86	1.05					-	.37**	.54**	.24**	.12**	.00	.21**	.41**	.16**

Table 1 continued.

Note. SEE- Scale of Ethnocultural Empathy; MGUDS-S- Miville- Guzman Universe Diverse Orientation Scale-Short version; ODS- Openness to Diversity Scale; BIDR- Balanced Inventory of Desirable Responding. Scores on the BIDR could range from 1-20, the APSI (measuring Big-5 traits) could range from 1-5, the SEE could range from 1-6, the MGUDS-S from 1-6, and the ODS from 1-5. **p < .01, *p < .05

Table 2*Correlation Coefficients for Relations among Primary Dependent Variables at Time 2*

Variable	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
1. SEE Empathic Feeling and Expression	4.08	0.78	.43**	.52**	.57**	.59**	.55**	.52**	.58**
2. SEE Empathic Perspective Taking	3.27	0.91	-	.34**	.32**	.45**	.24**	.32**	.34**
3. SEE Acceptance of Cultural Differences	4.43	0.96		-	.32**	.44**	.40**	.57**	.46**
4. SEE Empathic Awareness	4.25	0.90			-	.36**	.42**	.32**	.39**
5. MGUDS-S Diversity of Contact	3.89	1.04				-	.58**	.37**	.68**
6. MGUDS-S Relativistic Appreciation	4.67	0.82					-	.45**	.69**
7. MGUDS-S Comfort with Differences	4.45	0.95						-	.46**
8. ODS	3.81	0.76							-

Note. SEE- Scale of Ethnocultural Empathy; MGUDS-S- Miville- Guzman Universe Diverse Orientation Scale-Short version; ODS- Openness to Diversity Scale. Scores on the SEE could range from 1-6, MGUDS-S from 1-6, and ODS from 1-5.

**p < .01, *p < .05.

Table 3*Comparison of Multicultural Variables at Time 1*

Dependent Variable	Section										<i>F</i> <i>df</i> (4, 1089)	η^2
	A		F		J		K		S			
	<i>n</i> = 176		<i>n</i> = 221		<i>n</i> = 184		<i>n</i> = 265		<i>n</i> = 248			
	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>		
SEE- Empathic Feeling and Expression	4.17	0.78	4.28	0.74	4.16	0.74	4.22	0.79	4.07	0.76	2.49*	.01
SEE-Empathic Perspective Taking	3.19	0.97	3.37	0.97	3.33	0.90	3.24	0.99	3.15	0.89	1.94	.01
SEE-Acceptance of Cultural Differences	4.47	0.94	^a 4.60	0.85	^a 4.30	0.98	4.42	1.01	4.36	1.00	3.03*	.01
SEE- Empathic Awareness	4.16	0.94	4.43	0.88	4.31	0.90	4.25	0.95	4.19	0.93	2.72*	.01
MGUDS-S-Diversity of Contact	^a 3.68	1.06	^{ab} 4.08	0.99	3.93	1.05	3.86	1.07	^b 3.73	1.03	5.00**	.02
MGUDS-S-Relativistic Appreciation	4.60	0.68	4.71	0.69	4.66	0.75	4.72	0.76	4.62	0.74	1.27	.00
MGUDS-S-Comfort with Differences	4.81	0.81	^a 4.86	0.77	^a 4.55	0.91	4.76	0.89	4.77	0.77	3.85**	.01
ODS	^a 3.56	0.69	^a 3.82	0.63	3.68	0.70	3.71	0.70	3.64	0.69	3.88**	.01

Note. SEE- Scale of Ethnocultural Empathy; MGUDS-S- Miville- Guzman Universe Diverse Orientation Scale-Short version; ODS- Openness to Diversity Scale. Superscripts indicate pairs of course sections that were significantly different in Scheffe tests at the $p < .05$ level. Scores on the SEE could range from 1-6, MGUDS-S from 1-6, and ODS from 1-5.

** $p < .01$, * $p < .05$.

Table 4*Comparison of Multicultural Variables at Time 2*

Dependent Variable	Section										<i>F</i> <i>df</i> (4, 765)	η^2	
	A		F		J		K		S				
	<i>n</i> = 131 <i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>n</i> = 170 <i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>n</i> = 125 <i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>n</i> = 163 <i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>n</i> = 181 <i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>			
SEE													
Empathic Feeling and Expression	4.14	0.75	4.18	0.83	4.05	0.69	4.09	0.83	3.97	4.08	1.83	.01	
SEE													
Empathic Perspective Taking	^a 3.16	0.96	^{ab} 3.46	0.92	3.33	0.85	3.23	0.94	^b 3.14	0.84	3.61	.01	
SEE													
Acceptance of Cultural Differences	4.48	0.95	^{abc} 4.72	0.87	^a 4.37	0.89	^b 4.30	1.02	^c 4.30	0.97	5.71	.03	
SEE													
Empathic Awareness	4.27	0.79	4.35	0.97	4.29	0.83	4.25	0.97	4.13	0.89	1.36	.00	
MGUDS-S													
Diversity of Contact	3.83	1.02	^{ab} 4.10	1.03	^c 4.08	1.02	^a 3.79	1.12	^{bc} 3.74	0.95	4.30	.02	
MGUDS-S													
Relativistic Appreciation	4.68	0.80	4.75	0.79	4.81	0.77	4.60	0.88	4.58	0.83	2.10	.01	
MGUDS-S													
Comfort with Differences	4.55	0.89	4.53	0.99	4.28	0.97	4.44	1.04	4.42	0.85	1.78	.01	
ODS	3.70	0.78	3.92	0.74	3.95	0.69	3.78	0.80	3.74	0.73	3.13	.02	

Table 4 continued.

Note. SEE- Scale of Ethnocultural Empathy; MGUDS-S- Miville-Guzman Universe Diverse Orientation Scale-Short version; ODS- Openness to Diversity Scale. Superscripts indicate pairs of course sections that were significantly different in Scheffe tests at the $p < .05$ level. Scores on the SEE could range from 1-6, MGUDS-S from 1-6, and ODS from 1-5.

** $p < .01$, * $p < .05$

Table 5*Repeated Measures MANCOVA Comparing Experimental and Control Group*

Dependent Variable	Time	Control Group (n = 216)		Experimental Group (n = 194)	
		<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>
SEE Empathic feeling and Expression	T1	4.06	0.76	4.25	0.74
	T2	4.03	0.76	4.11	0.74
SEE Empathic Perspective Taking	T1	3.08	0.91	3.20	0.94
	T2	3.18	0.85	3.29	0.86
SEE Acceptance of Cultural Differences	T1	4.35	1.01	4.44	0.95
	T2	4.36	0.95	4.33	0.92
SEE-Empathic Awareness	T1	4.18	0.98	4.34	0.90
	T2	4.18	0.83	4.29	0.90
MGUDS-S-Diversity of Contact	T1	3.68	1.04	3.94	1.03
	T2	3.75	0.98	3.93	1.09
MGUDS-S-Relativistic Appreciation	T1	4.63	0.73	4.73	0.70
	T2	4.59	0.83	4.72	0.82
MGUDS-S-Comfort with Differences	T1	4.74	0.81	4.63	0.86
	T2	4.46	0.89	4.34	1.00
ODS	T1	3.55	0.69	3.70	0.66
	T2	3.71	0.77	3.85	0.75

Note. SEE- Scale of Ethnocultural Empathy; MGUDS-S- Miville- Guzman Universe Diverse Orientation Scale-Short version; ODS- Openness to Diversity Scale. Scores on the SEE could range from 1-6, MGUDS-S from 1-6, and ODS from 1-5.

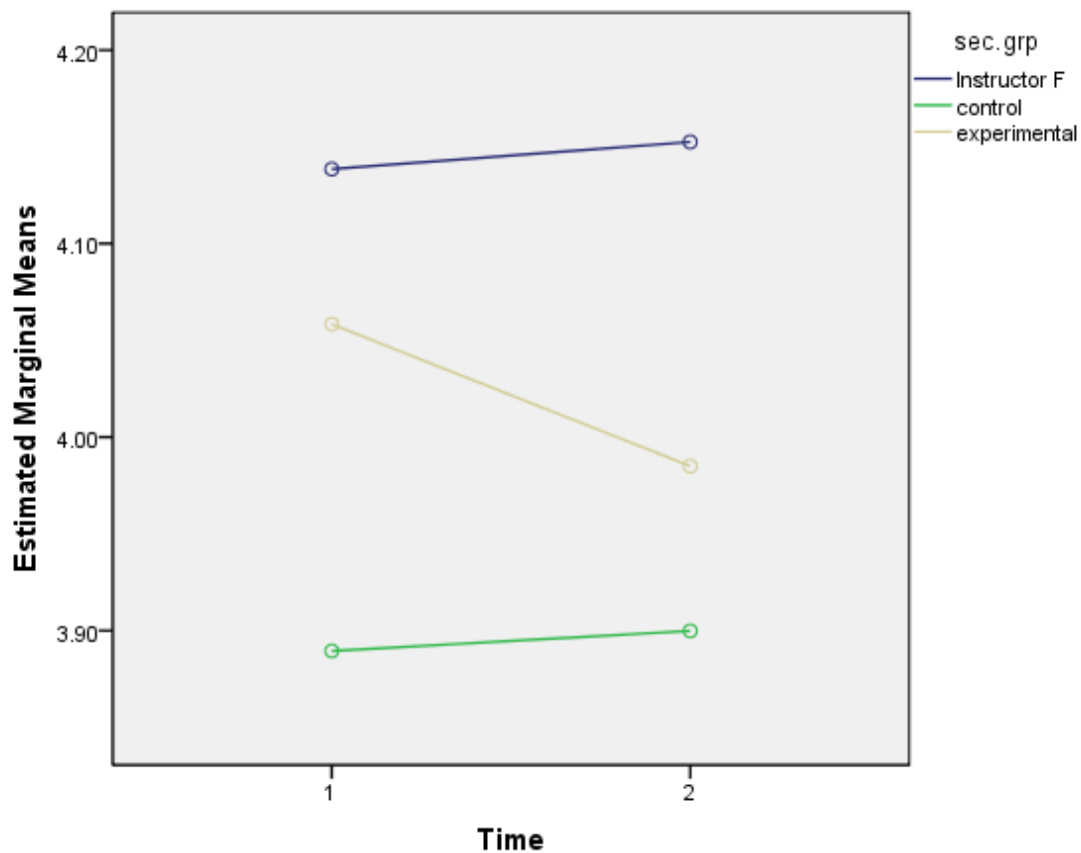


Figure 1

SEE Estimated Marginal Means

Note. SEE: Scale of Ethnocultural Empathy; BIDR: Balanced Inventory of Desirable Responding. Covariates appearing in the model are evaluated at the following values, BIDR = 5.78. Scores on the SEE could range from 1-6.

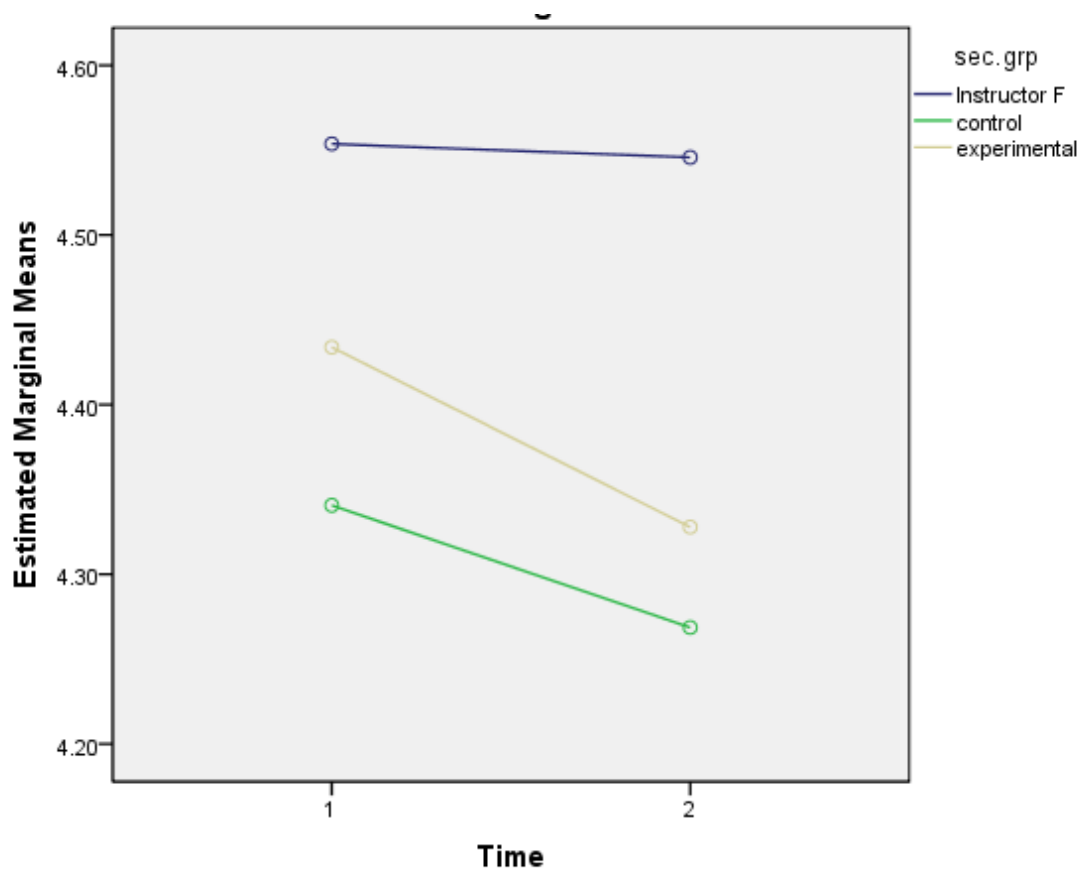


Figure 2

MGUDS-S Estimated Marginal Means

Note. MGUDS-S: MGUDS-S- Miville-Guzman Universe Diverse Orientation Scale-Short version; BIDR: Balanced Inventory of Desirable Responding. Covariates appearing in the model are evaluated at the following values, BIDR = 5.78. Scores on MGUDS-S could range from 1 to 6.

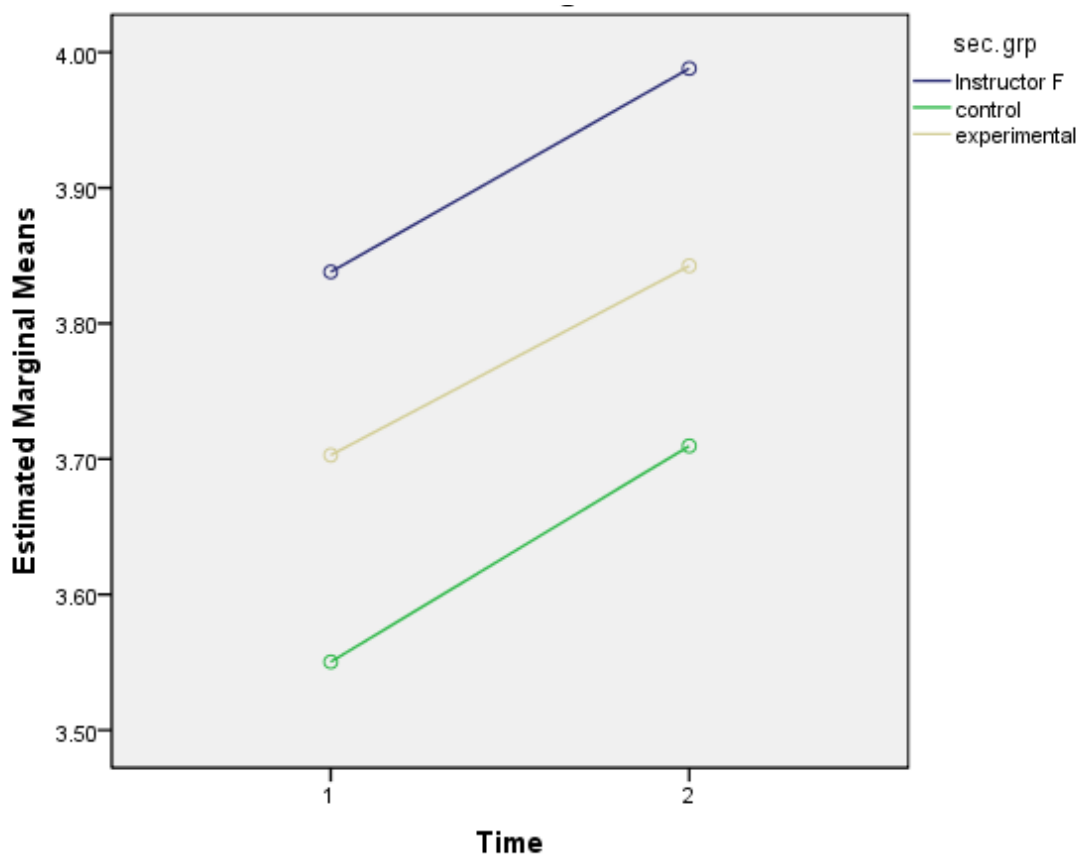


Figure 3

ODS Estimated Marginal Means

Note. ODS: Openness to Diversity Scale; BIDR: Balanced Inventory of Desirable Responding. Covariates appearing in the model are evaluated at the following values, BIDR = 5.78. Scores on the ODS could range from 1-5.

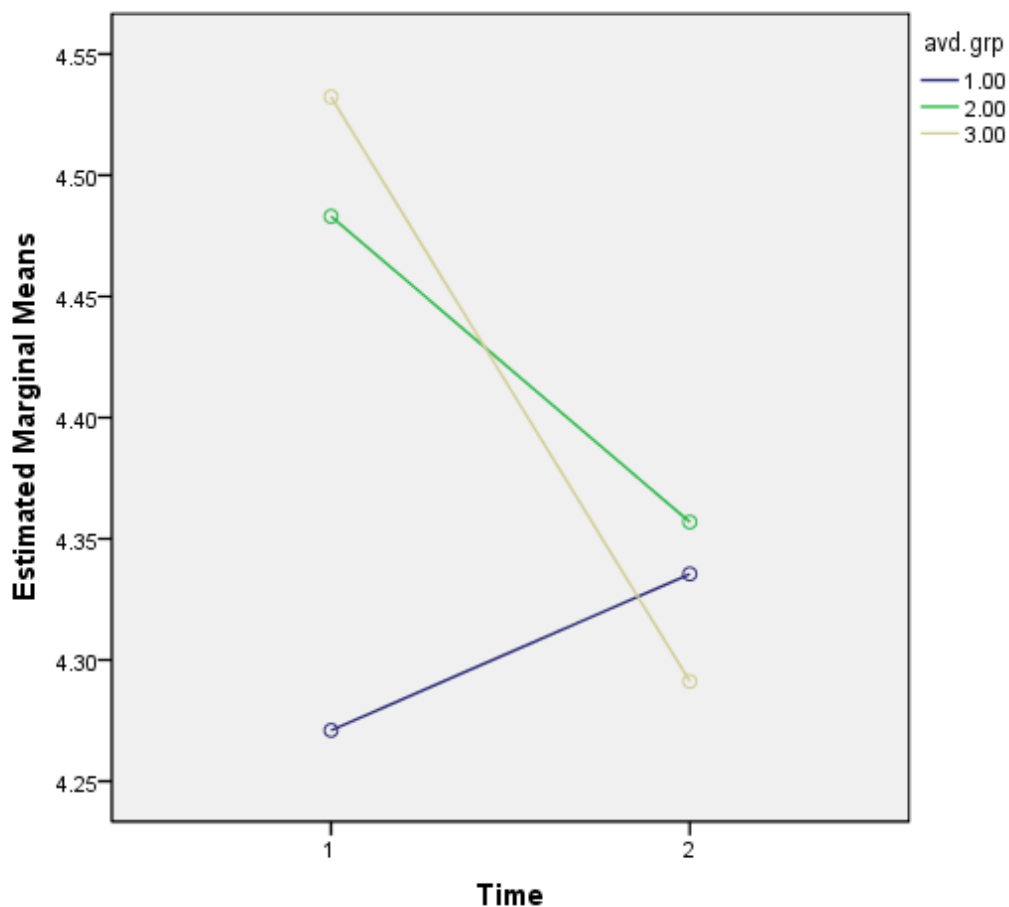


Figure 4

SEE- Acceptance of Cultural Differences Estimated Marginal Means with Attachment Avoidance Scores

Note. SEE: Scale of Ethnocultural Empathy. Attachment Avoidance scores were measured by Experiences in Close Relationships Short Form (ECRS-S). Avoidant Group 1: Low avoidance attachment scores, less than 2.15; Avoidant Group 2: Medium Avoidance Attachment scores, between 2.15 and less than 3.35; Avoidant Group 3: High Avoidance Attachment Scores, greater than 3.35. Scores on the SEE could range from 1-6, MGUDS-S from 1-6, and ODS from 1-5.

VITA

Tripti was born and brought up in Faridabad, India. She came to United States in 2006 to pursue a doctoral degree in counseling psychology. She finished her undergraduate and Master's degree in India. Her undergraduate degree is in Science and she received her Master's in Business Administration degree in 2001. Currently she lives in Maumee, Ohio with her husband and is a predoctoral intern at the Bowling Green State University Counseling Center. She expects to receive her doctorate in Counseling Psychology upon completion in 2011, and hopes to work in a college counseling center.